

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USBERLIN 0076

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB. UR

SUBJECT: HENDERSON-YEFREMOV CONVERSATION, JANUARY 10

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV AT LUNCH
WITH UK AMBASSADOR HENDERSON
JANUARY 10 DISCUSSED ESTABLISHMENT OF FEA; SCHUETZ
APPOINTMENT AS CULTURAL AFFAIRS PLENIPOTENTIARY;
GRANTING OF LANDING RIGHTS IN WEST BERLIN TO NON-THREE
POWER AIRLINES; ENCOURAGEMENT OF "PRO-FASCIST"
ELEMENTS IN WEST BERLIN; AND CELEBRATION
OF THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF NAZI DEFEAT. END
SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM ACCOUNT OF JANUARY 10
HENDERSON-YEFREMOV CONVERSATION PROVIDED MISSION BY BMG.
YEFREMOV MADE CUSTOMARY PLUG FOR PUNCTILIOUS OBSERVANCE
OF QA. THIS WOULD IMPROVE RELATIONS IN EUROPE WHERE
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BERLIN MATTERS CONTINUED TO HAVE CERTAIN INFLUENCE.

YEFREMOV SAID THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER PERMIT REUNIFICATION OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES: HE WAS SURE WEST WOULD NOT EITHER. IT WAS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD EXIST TWO SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATES FOR MANY YEARS. BETWEEN THESE TWO STATES WOULD LIE WEST BERLIN, WHICH WAS NOT PART OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID YEFREMOV WOULD NOT EXPECT HIM TO SPELL OUT OUR VIEWS ON FUTURE OF GERMANY WHICH HAD BEEN EXPLAINED FULLY ELSEWHERE. BUT HE HAD TO MAKE TWO POINTS: WE BELIEVED IN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT SITUATION IN EUROPE IN WHICH PEOPLE OF GERMANY COULD DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE ON BASIS OF SELF-DETERMINATION. AS REGARDS SEPARATENESS OF BERLIN, AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID HE HAD TO POINT OUT THAT JUST AS THIS HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED IN QA, SO HAD PRINCIPLE OF MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING TIES BETWEEN WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND FRG; THIS WAS THE BALANCE STRUCK IN QA.

3. YEFREMOV REFERRED TO FOUR AREAS WHERE RUSSIANS CONSIDERED THAT WESTERN POWERS WERE IN DANGER OF ALLOWING QA TO BE UNDERMINED:

(I) ESTABLISHMENT OF FEA: RUSSIANS HAD NEVER RECOGNIZED FEA AND WOULD NEVER DO SO IN FUTURE. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON MADE APPROPRIATE REPLY.

(II) APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNING MAYOR AS PLENIPOTENTIARY IN CULTURAL MATTERS UNDER 1963 FRANCO-GERMAN TREATY: AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID THAT THIS WAS MATTER BETWEEN SOVIET AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS. YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED IT WITH FRENCH.

(III) DECISION OF WESTERN ALLIES TO GRANT LANDING RIGHTS TO NON-ALLIED AIRLINES IN WEST BERLIN: YEFREMOV SAID THAT IT WAS NOT CORRECT FOR THE WEST TO SAY THEY COULD DICTATE WHICH AIRCRAFT CAN LAND IN WEST BERLIN. ACCORDING TO POTSDAM AGREEMENT, THE WEST COULD ONLY DISPOSE OF MILITARY TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT TO SERVE GARRISONS. THE WEST HAD VIOLATED POTSDAM CRUDELY. CORRIDORS ARE NOW ACTIVE COMMERCIAL LANES. SOVIET UNION KEEPS QUIET ABOUT THIS IN PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT: "WE ALSO HAVE COMMERCIAL INTERESTS: DO CARRY ON, BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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WHY GIVE RIGHT TO OTHERS?". AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE SOME MISUNDERSTANDING ON THIS SUBJECT. THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF PERMITTING NON-ALLIED AIRLINES TO USE AIR CORRIDORS. WE HAD MERELY GIVEN THEM PERMISSION TO LAND IN WEST BERLIN AIRPORTS IF THEY WERE ABLE TO ACQUIRE OVERFLYING RIGHTS FROM GDR. IT WAS UP TO US TO SAY WHO COULD OR COULD NOT LAND IN WEST BERLIN. YEFREMOV THEN INTRODUCED

VARIANT THAT WE SHOULD NOT GRANT LANDING RIGHTS UNTIL GDR HAD GIVEN THEIR APPROVAL TO OVERFLY, AND THAT WE SHOULD SO INFORM KLM AND THY. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON WAS CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY SUGGESTION OF AGREEMENT TO THIS. HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE MUCH GOOD AN AIRLINE GOING TO TROUBLE OF TRYING TO GET OVERFLYING RIGHTS FROM GDR IN ORDER TO REACH WEST BERLIN UNLESS THEY COULD BE SURE OF BEING ALLOWED TO LAND WHEN THEY GOT THERE. THERE ENSUED CHICKEN AND EGG ARGUMENT WITH FAIR LEAVENING OF RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH PROVERBS.

(IV) ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRO-FASCIST ELEMENTS IN WEST BERLIN: YEFREMOV SAID THAT ALLIES WERE ALLOWING THESE ELEMENTS TO TAKE PART IN CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN. WHAT DID UK STAND TO GAIN BY THIS? IT MIGHT EVENTUALLY LEAD TO DEMAND IN FRG THAT UK SHOULD LEAVE BERLIN. GRADUALLY FORCES IN FRG WILL COME TO DICTATE CONDITIONS TO UK AND FRANCE. YEFREMOV WAS APPARENTLY REFERRING TO BUND FREIES DEUTSCHLAND (BFD), A NEW PARTY MADE UP OF RENEGADES FROM SPD AND RIGHT-WINGERS. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID THAT ALLIES HAD BANNED NEO-NAZI PARTY, NPD, LAST YEAR (SIC). HE DID NOT THINK THAT TERM FASCIST COULD BE APPLIED TO BFD. COULD YEFREMOV TELL HIM NAMES OF LEADERS HE REGARDED AS FASCIST? YEFREMOV SAID HE WOULD WITHDRAW WORD FASCIST. HE DID NOT GIVE ANY NAMES. HE SAID HE WAS MERELY WARNING US IN OUR OWN INTERESTS.

4. YEFREMOV RAISED IN LOW KEY QUESTION OF 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF DEFEAT OF FASCISM. THIS TIME THERE WAS NO MENTION OF PARADES, BUT HE ADVOCATED SOME FORM OF JOINT COMMEMORATION IN BERLIN SUCH AS WREATH-LAYING AT WAR MEMORIALS OF FOUR ALLIES. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON
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SAID THAT WE FELT NO LESS STRONGLY THAN HE DID OF NEED TO HONOR DEAD. THIS HAD ALWAYS BEEN STRONG BELIEF OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WHO HAD ALSO SPOKEN OF NEED FOR MAGNANIMITY IN PEACE. AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SAID HE DID NOT SENSE IN FRG IN ANY WAY ANY REVIVAL OF NAZI SPIRIT. HE DID NOT THINK THAT SORT OF COMMEMORATION YEFREMOV PROPOSED WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. ALLIES AND SOVIET UNION HAD WELCOMED ADMISSION OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES TO UN. IF SOVIET AUTHORITIES WANTED TO DO SOMETHING SPECIAL IN 1975 THAT COULD CONTRIBUTE TO LESSENING OF DANGER OF CONFLICT, AMBASSADOR HENDERSON SUGGESTED THAT THEY SHOULD MAKE PROGRESS ON MBFR AND AGREE TO PRINCIPLE OF COMMON CEILING FOR FORCE LEVELS. GEORGE

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